

Message Text

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S/S:MR. GAMMON

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MASS

SUBJECT: SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

FOR SECRETARY FROM MAW

1. THE SECURITY ASSISTANCE REVIEW PROCESS HAS BEEN COMPLETED AND I HAVE REACHED CONCLUSIONS ON THE MAP, FMS CREDITS AND SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE COUNTRY LEVELS FOR FISCAL YEARS 1976-80. I NEED YOUR GUIDANCE ON FOUR ISSUES AS OUTLINED BELOW. AS FOR THE BALANCE, I WOULD RECOMMEND THAT THEY BE FORWARDED TO OMB BY THE ACTING SECRETARY WITH THE CAVEAT THAT YOU HAVE NOT HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW THE PROPOSED COUNTRY PROGRAMS AND THAT THEREFORE THE DEPARTMENT'S PROPOSALS HAVE TO BE TENTATIVE.

2. BEGIN SUMMARY. IN SUMMARY, TWO OF THE ISSUES CONCERN THE RATE OF PHASE-OUT OF GRANT MATERIEL PROGRAMS IN LATIN AMERICA. ARA WOULD LIKE TO TERMINATE THESE PROGRAMS BY THE END OF FY '75 FOR CENTRVL AMERICA AND BY THE END OF FY '76 FOR SOUTH AMERICA. THE BUREAU SEES NO POLITICAL
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JUSTIFICATION FOR CONTINUATION. DOD HOWEVER BELIEVES THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO TERMINATE THE PROGRAMS SO SOON AND WOULD CONTINUE THEM THROUGH FY '80. IHAVESEPARATED THE ISSUE OF CONTINUATION OF PANAMA PROGRAM SINCE THIS DE-

CISION INVOLVES ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS, ALTHOUGH I AGREE WITH ARA THAT ALL PROGRAMS IN LATIN AMERICA SHOULD BE TERMINATED WITHIN THE NEXT 18 MONTHS.

THE THIRD ISSUE CONCERNS OUR POSITION ON PROGRAMS TO COUNTRIES PERCEIVED AS "OIL-RICH" (VENEZUELA, ECUADOR AND INDONESIA). THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT FOR POLITICAL REASONS THESE PROGRAMS SHOULD BE CONTINUED. THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENT IN OPPOSITION IS THAT THE PUBLIC DEFENSE OF THESE PROGRAMS IN CONGRESS WILL BE EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT AND MAY JEOPARDIZE OTHER OBJECTIVES TO BE ACHIEVED BY THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT. I RECOMMEND THAT MODEST PROGRAMS BE CONTINUED.

FINALLY, YOUR GUIDANCE IS REQUIRED ON THE LEVEL OF ASSISTANCE TO BE SHOWN IN THE BUDGET PRESENTATION FOR FISCAL YEARS 1976-80 FOR ISRAEL AND JORDAN. A SIMILAR ISSUE WAS ADDRESSED TO YOU BY AID, ALTHOUGH IN THAT CASE ONLY FY '76 WAS INVOLVED. MY RECOMMENDATION IS THAT THE FY '75 LEVELS AS REQUESTED TO CONGRESS BE SUBMITTED FOR FISCAL YEARS 1976-80 WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT AMENDMENTS MAY BE NECESSARY. END SUMMARY

3. THE TOTAL OF THE MAP PROGRAMS FOR FY '76 IS 1,019 MILLION DOLS. AS COMPARED TO OUR PRESENT FY '75 REQUEST OF 1,024 MILLION DOLS. AND THE FY '74 PROGRAM OF 792.9 MILLION DOLS. FOR FMS, OUR PROGRAM REQUEST TOTALS 710 MILLION DOLS. AS COMPARED TO OUR FY '75 PROGRAM REQUEST OF 872.5 MILLION DOLS. AND THE FY '74 PROGRAM OF 713.3 MILLION DOLS. I SHOULD NOTE THAT THE FY '76 FIGURES DO NOT INCLUDE FUNDS FOR ISRAEL OR JORDAN PENDING YOUR DECISIONS ON THESE ISSUES. THE OMB MARKS FOR FY '76 PROGRAMS ARE MAP 770 MILLION DOLS. AND FMS 1 BILLION DOLS.

4. THE THREE ISSUES ON WHICH I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR DECISIONS CONCERN THE RATE OF PHASE OUT OF MAP GRANT MATERIEL PROGRAMS IN LATIN AMERICA, THE US GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ON PROGRAMS IN "OIL-RICH" COUNTRIES, AND THE CONFIDENTIAL

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LEVEL OF PROGRAMS FOR ISAREL AND JORDAN.

ISSUE NO I--THE RATE OF PHASE OUT OF MAP GRANT MATERIEL FOR LATIN AMERICA.

ARA HAS PROPOSED THAT THE MAP MATERIEL PROGRAMS FOR CENTRAL AMERICA (GUATEMALA, EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS AND NICARAGUA) BE TERMINATED AT THE END OF THIS FISCAL YEAR AND THAT MATERIEL PROGRAMS IN SOUTH AMERICA (BOLIVIA, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, PARAGUAY AND URUGUAY) BE TERMINATED AT THE END OF FY '76.

FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED:

A) THERE ARE NO POLITICAL IMPERATIVES OR OBJECTIVES WHICH WOULD REQUIRE THE CONTINUATION OF THE PROGRAMS.

B) THE FY '76 MATERIEL PROGRAM FOR ALL OF LATIN AMERICA TOTALS 3.3 MILLION DOLS.

C) TERMINATION WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH EXPRESSED CONGRESSIONAL DESIRE AND STATED ADMINISTRATION POLICY. THIS TERMINATION POLICY COULD STRENGTHEN CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR TOTAL SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

D) TERMINATION AT END OF FY '76 OF ALL LATIN AMERICAN MATERIEL PROGRAMS WOULD ONLY LEAVE MATERIEL PROGRAMS BEYOND THAT YEAR FOR THOSE COUNTRIES IN WHICH US HAS BASES OR OTHER FACILITIES (PHILIPPINES, THAILAND, TURKEY AND POSSIBLY KOREA) OR SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES (ETHIOPIA, JORDAN, LAOS, CAMBODIA AND POSSIBLY INDONESIA).

E) THERE IS NO DISAGREEMENT AMONG WASHINGTON AGENCIES ON THE PHASE-OUT POLICY. DOD HOWEVER FEELS THAT SOME LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAMS SHOULD CONTINUE INTO FY '80 TO:

1) PERMIT RECIPIENT COUNTRIES MORE TIME TO ADJUST THEIR OWN BUDGETS WHICH IS A PROBLEM IN LIGHT OF LOW GNP IN THESE COUNTRIES;

2) MEET THE POSSIBILITY OF A PERCEIVED COMMITMENT BY CONFIDENTIAL

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RECIPIENTS TO COMPLETE THE DELIVERY PROGRAM (NO FORMAL AGREEMENTS OR UNDERSTANDINGS EXIST);

3) MAINTAIN GOOD MILITARY-TO-MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS.

F) ALTHOUGH SOME DIFFERENCES DO EXIST AMONG COUNTRY REQUIREMENTS AND POLITICAL OBJECTIVES, CONSENSUS IS THAT ALL COUNTRIES IN EACH SUB-REGION SHOULD BE PHASED OUT AT THE SAME TIME TO AVOID CHARGES OF FAVORITISM.

G) MAP GRANT TRAINING PROGRAMS WILL BE PROGRAMMED AT LEAST THROUGH FY 1980.

OPTIONS:

1A. THAT MAP GRANT MATERIEL PROGRAMS FOR GUATEMALA, EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS AND NICARAGUA BE TERMINATED BY THE END OF THIS FISCAL YEAR.

1B. THAT MAP GRANT MATERIEL PROGRAMS FOR GUATEMALA, EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS AND NICARAGUA BE CONTINUED UNTIL END

OF FY 1978.

2A. THAT MAP GRANT MATERIEL PROGRAMS FOR BOLIVIA, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, PARAGUAY AND URUGUAY BE TERMINATED BY END OF FY '76.

2B. THAT MAP GRANT MATERIEL PROGRAMS FOR BOLIVIA, PARAGUAY, AND URUGUAY BE CONTINUED UNTIL END OF FY 1980 BUT THAT THE PROGRAM FOR THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC BE PHASED OUT AT THE END OF FY 1978.

RECOMMENDATION:

I RECOMMEND THAT YOU APPROVE OPTIONS 1A AND 2A. I SEE NO CONVINCING JUSTIFICATION FOR CONTINUATION OF THESE PROGRAMS BEYOND FY '75 AND '76 RESPECTIVELY. ANY INCONVENIENCE TO RECIPIENT COUNTRIES IN TERMS OF BUDGETING WOULD SEEM TO BE OUTWEIGHED BY THE POTENTIAL FOR POSITIVE CONGRESSIONAL REACTION TO DEFINITIVE ADMINISTRATION
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ACTION TO TERMINATE THESE PROGRAMS.

ISSUE NO. II--THE RATE OF PHASE-OUT OF MAP GRANT MATERIEL PROGRAM FOR PANAMA.

I AM LISTING THIS ISSUE SEPARATELY BECAUSE OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH PANAMA DO INVOLVE A SPECIAL COMPLICATION (I.E. THE CANAL TREATY NEGOTIATIONS). THE OTHER CONSIDERATIONS ARE IDENTICAL TO THOSE DISCUSSED IN ISSUE I INCLUDING ARA'S POSITION.

OPTIONS:

1A. THAT MAP GRANT MATERIEL PROGRAM FOR PANAMA (CURRENTLY 200 THOUSAND DOLS. BE PHASED OUT AT THE END OF FY 1976.

1B. THAT MAP GRANT MATERIEL PROGRAM BE CONTINUED UNTIL THE END OF FY '80 OR UNTIL THE CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON A CANAL TREATY, WHICHEVER IS EARLIEST.

RECOMMENDATION:

I RECOMMEND THAT YOU APPROVE OPTION 1A, FOR THE SAME REASONS INDICATED IN MY RECOMMENDATION ON ISSUE NO. I.

ISSUE NO. III--SHOULD THE US GOVERNMENT CONTINUE SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IN COUNTRIES WHICH ARE PERCEIVED TO BE "OIL-RICH"?

THIS ISSUE CONCERNS THE CONTINUATION OF PROGRAMS IN VENEZUELA, ECUADOR AND INDONESIA. THE REGIONAL BUREAUS

RECOMMEND THE FOLLOWING LEVELS:

------(IN DOLS. MILLIONS)-----
-----1974--1975---1976--1977--1978--1979---1980--
VENEZUELA-----
MAP GRANTS---.9---.7---.7---.7---.8---.8---.9--
FMS CREDITS--7.5---17---17---20---22---24---26---

ECUADOR-----
MAP GRANTS--0---0---.9---.9---.9---.9---
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FMS CREDITS--0---0---10---10---10---10---10---

INDONESIA-----
MAP GRANTS--14.4--25---21.4--19.4--19.2--16.6---14.2--
FMS CREDITS--3.5--0---12.5--12.8--11.0--12.0---13.0--

FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED:

A) ALTHOUGH PROBABLY PERCEIVED BY CONGRESS TO BE ALL
"OIL-RICH" COUNTRIES, IN FACT THERE ARE WIDE DISCREPAN-
CIES BOTH IN OIL-INCOME AND GNP AMONG THE THREE COUNTRIES.

B) THERE DO EXIST VALID FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES IN
OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH EACH COUNTRY THAT CAN BE MET
THROUGH THE JUDICIOUS USE OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS.

C) A SUDDEN (OR EVEN OVER-RAPID) TERMINATION OF PROGRAMS
COULD BE INTERPRETED AS PUNITIVE AT A TIME WHEN THEIR
SUPPORT IS REQUIRED.

D) THE ADDITIONAL REVENUES GENERATED BY OIL SALES PLACES
THESE COUNTRIES (PARTICULARLY VENEZUELA) IN THE POSITION
OF BEING ABLE TO PURCHASE ARMS FROM NON-US SUPPLIERS.
NOT ONLY WOULD THAT BE DETRIMENTAL TO US EXPORTS, BUT
MIGHT ALSO HAVE A DESTABILIZING INFLUENCE IN THE RESPEC-
TIVE AREAS.

E) ANY RAPID CHANGE IN OUR PROGRAM STRUCTURE COULD WELL
HAVE A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON OUR MILITARY-TO-MILITARY
RELATIONSHIPS.

F) IN THE CASE OF VENEZUELA, TERMINATION OF PROGRAMS
WOULD BE DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO POLICY OF "EVENHANDEDNESS"
WITH COLOMBIA, UNLESS WE WOULD WISH TO TERMINATE FMS
PROGRAM WITH LATTER COUNTRY AS WELL.

G) THERE IS NO CONVINCING ECONOMIC ARGUMENT THAT WOULD

JUSTIFY CONTINUATION OF FMS PROGRAM FOR VENEZUELA. A
CASE CAN BE MADE ON PROGRAMS FOR ECUADOR AND INDONESIA,

AT LEAST FOR THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS.

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H) REGARDLESS OF ECONOMIC JUSTIFICATION, LARGE PORTIONS OF CONGRESS WILL NOT ACCEPT VALIDITY OF FMS PROGRAMS FOR ANY OF THESE THREE COUNTRIES.

I) THE US HAS ENTERED INTO AGREEMENT WITH UK, FRANCE, FRG AND OTHERS NOT TO LEND MONEY TO "OIL-RICH" COUNTRIES FOR OVER THREE YEARS OR AT LESS THAN 7.5 PER CENT (THIS AGREEMENT IS NOT APPLICABLE TO ECUADOR AND INDONESIA, BUT WOULD APPLY TO VENEZUELA).

J) THE ADMINISTRATION'S EMPHASIS ON A BALANCED BUDGET MAKES THESE PROGRAMS PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE TO CRITICISM.

K) MAP GRANT TRAINING PROGRAMS WOULD BE CONTINUED UNDER ALL OPTIONS.

OPTIONS:

1. TERMINATE ALL FMS CREDIT AND MAP GRANT MATERIEL PROGRAMS TO VENEZUELA, ECUADOR AND INDONESIA BY THE END OF FY '75.

2. APPROVE PROGRAMS AS RECOMMENDED BY THE REGIONAL BUREAUS.

3A. FOR VENEZUELA, CONTINUE MAP TRAINING PROGRAM, BUT TERMINATE FMS CREDIT PROGRAM AT END OF FY '75.

3B. FOR VENEZUELA, APPROVE MAP AND FMS PROGRAMS AS RECOMMENDED BY ARA.

3C. FOR VENEZUELA, CONTINUE MAP TRAINING PROGRAM AND APPROVE AN FMS PROGRAM WHICH WOULD SLOWLY DECLINE FROM A PEAK IN FY '75.

4A. FOR ECUADOR, CONTINUE MAP TRAINING PROGRAM, BUT TERMINATE FMS CREDIT PROGRAM BY END OF FY '75.

4B. FOR ECUADOR, APPROVE MAP TRAINING AND FMS PROGRAMS AS RECOMMENDED BY ARA.

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5A. FOR INDONESIA, CONTINUE MAP TRAINING PROGRAM, BUT TERMINATE MAP GRANT MATERIEL AND FMS CREDIT PROGRAMS BY END OF FY '75.

5B. FOR INDONESIA, APPROVE THE MAP AND FMS PROGRAMS AS

RECOMMENDED BY EA.

5C. FOR INDONESIA, GRADUALLY REDUCE AND THEN TERMINATE THE MAP GRANT MATERIEL PROGRAM BY END OF FY '78 AND PROVIDE INCREASED FMS CREDITS OF 15 MILLION DOLS. FOR THE PERIOD FY '76-80.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

I RECOMMEND THAT YOU APPROVE THE FOLLOWING:

1. OPTION 3C, WHICH WOULD CONTINUE A POLITICAL SIGNAL TO VENEZUELA AND AT THE SAME TIME RECOGNIZE TO SOME EXTENT THE INCREASING ECONOMIC CAPABILITY OF THAT COUNTRY TO PURCHASE ARMS WITHOUT GOVERNMENTAL CREDIT SUPPORT. THE LEVELS OF FMS CREDITS UNDER THIS OPTION WOULD BE GRADUALLY REDUCED FROM 17 MILLION DOLS. IN FY '75 TO 5 MILLION DOLS. IN FY '80.

2. OPTION 4B, SINCE THIS WILL PERMIT US TO MEET OUR ESSENTIAL FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES AND CAN BE JUSTIFIED IN VIEW OF ECUADOR'S STILL UNCERTAIN ECONOMIC SITUATION. (THE LEVELS WOULD BE 900 THOUSAND DOLS. MAP AND 10 MILLION DOLS. FMS FOR EACH OF FIVE YEARS.)

3. OPTION 5C, WHICH WILL PERMIT US TO MAINTAIN OUR ESSENTIAL FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES AND STILL INDICATE A SENSITIVITY TO POTENTIAL CONGRESSIONAL CRITICISM. (THE MAP LEVEL WOULD DECLINE FROM 18 MILLION DOLS. IN FY '76 TO 800 THOUSAND DOLS. IN FY '80 AND FMS WOULD BE 15 MILLION DOLS. FOR EACH YEAR IN PERIOD FY '76-80.)

ISSUE NO. IV--WHAT LEVELS SHOULD BE SHOWN FOR MAP AND FMS PROGRAMS FOR ISRAEL AND JORDAN?

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YOU HAVE ALREADY ADDRESSED YOURSELF TO A SIMILAR ISSUE AS IT AROSE IN THE AID PROGRAM CONTEXT. I RAISE IT AGAIN ONLY TO INSURE CONFORMITY OF APPROACH AND TO OBTAIN YOUR DECISIONS ON PROGRAM LEVELS BEYOND FY 1975. OUR PROGRAMMING DECISIONS ARE GREATLY COMPLICATED THIS YEAR BECAUSE WE HAVE TO SUBMIT TO OMB NOT ONLY OUR ESTIMATES FOR FY 1976, BUT FOR THE FY '77-80 TIME PERIOD AS WELL. THIS REQUIREMENT IS DICTATED BY THE NEW BUDGET ACT, WHICH REQUIRES THE ADMINISTRATION TO SUBMIT ITS FY '77 PROGRAM BY MAY 15, 1975 INCLUDING PROJECTIONS FOR FOUR YEARS BEYOND. THIS MEANS THAT OUR PROGRAM REQUESTS COUNTRY BY

COUNTRY FOR FY '76 WILL BECOME PUBLIC AROUND MARCH OF 1975 AND THE FY '77 REQUESTS WILL PROBABLY BE PUBLIC BY MAY 1975. THE EXACT FORMAT OF THE FY '77 SUBMISSION HAS

NOT YET BEEN WORKED OUT WITH CONGRESS BUT WE ASSUME THAT THERE WILL BE A COUNTRY BY COUNTRY TABLE SHOWING OUR REQUESTS FOR THAT FISCAL YEAR WITH A GLOBAL TOTAL FOR MAP AND FMS FOR THE PERIOD FY '76-80.

FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED:

A) I WILL NOT REPEAT THE ARGUMENTS MADE IN THE AID MEMORANDUM TO YOU OF OCT 18. THE SAME FACTORS ARE APPLICABLE TO THIS DECISION. YOUR DECISION ON THE MAP AND FMS LEVELS ARE ADDITIONAL TO THE SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS CONTAINED IN THE AID MEMORANDUM.

B) DOD HAS STATED THAT IT HAS NO MILITARY BASIS UPON WHICH TO JUSTIFY FMS CREDITS FOR ISRAEL DURING THE PLANNING PERIOD.

C) NONE OF THE AMOUNTS INDICATED FOR ISRAEL TAKE INTO ACCOUNT MATMOM B OR THE FINANCIAL PROBLEMS MOST RECENTLY PRESENTED TO US INFORMALLY.

OPTIONS:

1. NOT INDICATE ANY PROGRAM LEVELS FOR THE IMMEDIATE SUBMISSION TO OMB BUT INDICATE THAT A SUBMISSION WILL BE MADE AS SOON AS FEASIBLE.
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2. REPEAT THE FY '74 LEVELS OF 300 MILLION DOLS. FMS CREDITS FOR ISRAEL AND 40 MILLION DOLS. MAP FOR JORDAN, FOR EACH YEAR IN THE PERIOD FY '76-80.

3. REPEAT THE FY '75 LEVELS OF 300 MILLION DOLS. FMS CREDITS FOR ISRAEL AND 100 MILLION DOLS. MAP AND 30 MILLION DOLS. FMS CREDITS FOR JORDAN, FOR EACH YEAR IN THE PERIOD FY '76-80.

4. NEA RECOMMENDS PROJECTING A LEVEL OF 300 MILLION DOLS. OF FMS CREDITS FOR ISRAEL AND 60 MILLION DOLS. MAP PROGRAM AND 50 MILLION DOLS. FMS CREDITS FOR JORDAN, FOR EACH YEAR IN THE PERIOD FY '76-80.

5. DOD RECOMMENDS THE FOLLOWING PROGRAM FOR JORDAN:

------(IN DOLS. MILLIONS)-----
-----1976-----1977-----1978-----1979-----1980--

MAP-----30.6-----19.7-----15.9-----12.1-----10.1--
FMS-----10.0-----15.0-----15.0-----15.0-----15.0--

RECOMMENDATION:

I RECOMMEND THAT IN ORDER TO BE CONSISTENT WITH YOUR
DECISION ON SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE LEVELS TO MIDDLE EAST
COUNTRIES, OPTION 3, AS BEING THE HIGHEST, BE APPROVED.
IT WILL ALSO PERMIT US TO INDICATE SOME UNCERTAINTY
SINCE IT IS A REPEAT OF FIGURES PREVIOUSLY SUBMITTED TO
CONGRESS. INGERSOLL

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